I: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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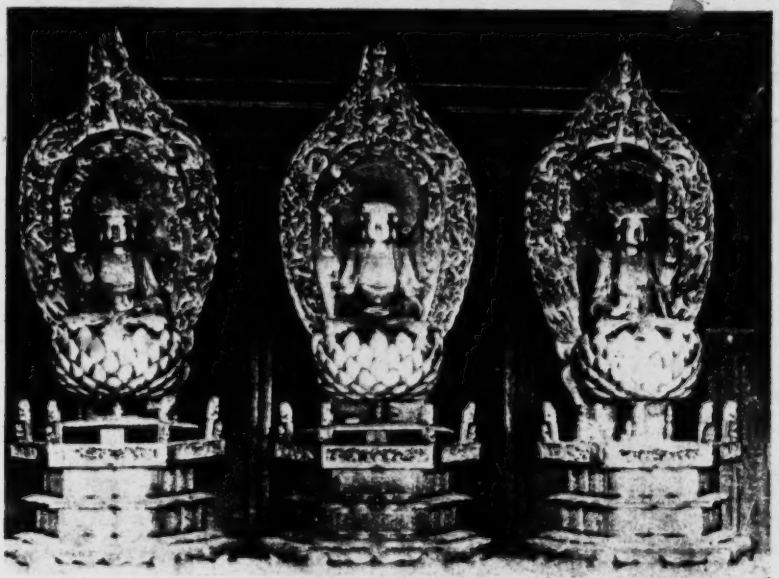

FIG. 1. The th celebrated Buddha images, said to have been brought to Hsining by the first Chinese military colonists under the Ming, from their native province of Kiangsu in 1370. They are worshipped in the Ch'eng Huang Miao (temple of the guardian spirit of the city). On the fifteenth of the first moon all the inhabitants of Hsining never omit to pay them a visit, prostrating themselves and burning incense. In the summer of every year a theatrical comedy is played in honor of these images brought from the ancestral homeland.

[p. 29a]

621 312 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 312 628 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 628 778 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 834 533 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

[P. 81a]

852 may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy's own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy's bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindliness.

• 778 755 Parents who do not "dedicate" a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

858 Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'u-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors. [P. 104 b]

need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

The Monguors do not have much in the way of furniture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

During the winter the Monguor men, who work so much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house. A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff. This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

[P 1166]

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291 to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they 302 had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks, 182 they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

291 Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

301 Both married and unmarried women wear braceiets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

• 778 Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

463 There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

286 The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

[34 cont.]
000 represent long hair.

791 Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-
778 sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising
534 demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute.
[789] Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding beards, and
[765] thunderbolt.

The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. -- The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away
[789] unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

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[789] Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35.] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sënoǧsa (snaǧsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[34 cont.]

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7. [Foreign text p. 35.] dziliu: Tibetan dril bu = bell. -- kaṅgergĕ: Mongolic k'eng-gerge = drum. -- sĕnoġsa (snaġsa): Tibetan shags pa = sorcerer; shags bon = Bon priest. -- (n)duombora: Tibetan sdom = to bind, spu = hair, ra = wreath. -- šgaṅdoṅ: Tibetan rkaṅ = shinbone, duṅ = trumpet, snail. -- ndarĕ: probably a literary botching of the Sanskritic damaru (Unkrig).

Farmer-Bon: xuändie; su-jen peng-po (Chin.) = Lay-Bon.
Bon priest (in general): peng-po-tzu (Chin.).
Hair wreath of the farmer-Bon: (n)duombŏra (Tib. and Tujen) (7) [see Note 7 above].
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Bone flute: šgaṅ-doṅ (Tib. and Tujen); chuo-pa (Chin.) = shinbone (7) [see Note 7 above].
Hourglass drum: ndarĕ (Tib. loanword) (7) [see Note 7 above]; pa-lang-ku (Chin.).
Bell: dziliu (7) [see Note 7 above]; ling-tang (Chin.).
Whip: p'i-pien-tzu (Chin.) = skin-whip.
Big drum: ta-ku (Chin.); kaṅgärgĕ.

[Pages 34-35 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[35]
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4. The Lama (Lama-Reception)*

*See "Notes," pp. 41-43 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are many ceremonies to which a lama is invited.

[35 cont.]

792 A distinction is made between great and small lamas. The great ones are usually Living Buddhas (hutukhtu) (1).

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1. [Foreign text p. 41.] The following presentation applies primarily to the reception of a hutukhtu. In case of lesser lamas the ceremonies are simpler. -- Divine images, for instance, the litter of the Kuan Yin, of the tiger god, etc., also receive a similar reception when they are brought into the house for exorcising evil. Unfortunately I was unable to take down the corresponding ceremonies. I once saw such a god's litter standing on a house roof. -- The lama-reception was observed by me personally.

Before one invites a lama, the house must be cleaned. A special room is prepared, in which the lama prays and sleeps. Then the people go to get him with horses. In the case of a great lama, the entire village participates in the reception. As soon as he enters the compound, incense is offered and the conch is blown. He is led into the house and given hospitality. Afterwards he gives the book-blessing in the yard and begins his ceremonies.

[36] [Fig. 3 appears here.]

792 The lama always makes a number of tormas, in front of
[978] which little water-bowls are offered. He also has with him the same objects that he has in the monastery. -- When he finishes the ceremonies he is paid. Usually the monks of the monastery are also fed at that time.

Details

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Preparations: Before anyone invites a lama, he consults with him about the time. The soothsayer sets the day for the ceremonies accordingly. For instance, if according to the

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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[532] a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi); e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

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soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a [262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[38 cont.]

792 796 782 778 Prayer service: Now he begins his prayer service. Before each prayer service a few tormas are made; if he is a great lama, his assistants see to it. The tormas vary and represent offerings to the gods. In part they are left standing on the table, or they are taken to the household altar. Before that comes a series of little water bowls, grain bowls, liquor bowls (3),

3. [Foreign text p. 41.] There is a definite number and order for these little bowls. The water offering plays an important role in the monastic cult, cf. Kumbum, p. 251. The Tujen and Chia-Hsifan [Sifan] frequently present the water offering in the morning. Thus,

534 354 532

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 4. Two hourglass drums. (Drawing of a Tujen.) Fig. 5. Butter-lamp.

I once saw how an old man got up in the morning, washed himself, burned incense, put a large copper bowl and 12 little bowls of water on the household altar, kowtowed three times in the courtyard, one of these in the direction of Kumbum, kowtowed three times in front of the household altar, and then emptied the water bowls.

and butter-lamps, which are always kept burning. Later these tormas are either taken away or eaten by the family, and sometimes thrown

[38 cont.]
792 to the animals (2).
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2. [Foreign text p. 41.] Concerning sdorma, the DMF writes (p. 338): "pyramidal figures made of grilled dough and offered to the spirits to ward off their evil influences. Cf. Tib. gtor-ma, id. (Mong. turma, tuurma, turuma...)" [translated from French]. Ch. Das characterizes (p. 527) the expression gtor-ma, which in turn goes back to a Sanskrit word, as cast offering: "sacrificial objects, i.e., that which is strewn or scattered or given away" [cited in English]. They are said to consist mostly of dough (rice, barley, etc.), to have a pyramidal shape, and are supposed to ward off dangers, to pacify the spirits, etc. -- Much has been written concerning the meaning of the gtor-ma; in this connection cf. the accounts in Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, Ch. XIV. The Tujen conceive of the torma as the seat of a demon or of a god or as spirit food. It does not remain a permanent seat, however, but only during the time of the ceremonies. The spirit is conjured into it by the lama. I was unable to ascertain the name balih among them. As spirit food they call it by the Chinese word szu-shih, that is, offering food, but there is another interpretation, namely "corpse," which also has the form szu-shih. This is what they call the

[38 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 41 cont.]
torma that at the conclusion of the tsam dance on New Year's is carried off and burned as the murdered enemy of the religion. -- They also call the mandala-figure torma, for instance, during the erection of the pole-goat. -- The fact that the torma has a sacral function for only a brief time explains why it is no longer given any attention after the ceremonies, but is thrown away, given to the animals to eat, or even eaten by the people themselves.

Insofar as I was able to establish among the Tujen, the tormas are always made only of tsamba and butter, and not, as Filchner (Unkrig) writes, loc. cit., out of sour dough. It may be that this kind of preparation is peculiar to the monasteries.

The cult implements of the hutukhtu are the same as those he uses at home in the monastery, to wit, the holy water-can with the peacock feather, the hourglass drum, the thunderbolt, and the hand bell. He always has these things ready at hand on the table. He always holds his mani-string in his hand. While praying he does not sit at the side, but behind the table, on the kang and facing the door. He lays his prayer book in front of him on his knees or on the kang table. Sometimes he also gives the [788] water blessing while the others prepare the tormas. For this purpose he has pure spring water poured into the [39] holy can; one of the assistants throws consecrated spices into it and places the can on a little plate with Tibet barley. The lama then recites the prayer of blessing over it.

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Prayer fee: During the time of his stay the lama is entertained very hospitably. The master of the household, who is also called "master of gifts," must serve him personally. The

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

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792 Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gẽlõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sañ (10); šge sañ = great H.; mula sañ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

6. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsũordzi and the kãnbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this
[778] Chinese name for everything that is
[775] the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, in other words, also for the incarnations

[40 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] (Tulkus), the spirit-spear, gods' statues with souls. Sometimes, for the sake of clarity, they designate the incarnations as huo-fuo (Chinese), that is, Living Buddha. The Tujen name purgan is usually used only for the spirits and the spirit seats with souls. Sometimes one hears the expression sañ or sañrĕ-dzi. I have never encountered the names Tulku, Hutukhtu, or Gegen, which in the Tujen language has the same meaning as sañ, the enlightened one.

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10. [Foreign text p. 43.] sañrĕdzi: Tibetan sañs = pure, rgyas = spread out. -- gdzo: Tibetan gzo = to remind, to bring to mind; dañwu: Tibetan dañ po = first time; niwa: Tibetan gñis pa = second time; gdzänba: Tibetan gsum pa = third time. -- simier: Tibetan šis = fortune, mar = butter. -- sidar: Tibetan šis = fortune, dar = silk cloth. -- sändzoñ: Tibetan ts'em bzañ = cloth good. -- doñsär: Tibetan bdun = seven, gser = golden; the seven golden ones. -- lamar: Tibetan la = wax (from the Chinese), mar = butter. -- dordzi: Tibetan rdo = stone, rje = master. -- bosĕ: perhaps from the Mongolic; püse = trade, business; cf. Chin. p'u-tzu. -- mäntsia: Tibetan mañ = ample, ja = tea (Unkrig).

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) = in rows.

First fetching: ġdzõ dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see

796 Note on preceding page].

574 Second fetching: ġdzõ niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzõ ġdzämba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on

262 preceding page].

796 Little plate with baked goods: sētoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-erh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsũra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidār (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10

796 on preceding page].

Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzõn (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbõ.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuän.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõnsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbā (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarē.

Mani-string: mani.

[43 cont.]

782 Time: The incense offering is to be given as early as possible, as soon as the morning twilight appears. One is not allowed to wait until the sun is high. Nowadays, even though [178] the families are no longer pious, [44] they will nonetheless give the incense offering at the least on the first, eighth, and fifteenth day of the lunar month. On these three days small butter- or [778] oil-lamps are also lighted in the house in front of the Buddha images.

782 Place: The usual place for the morning offering is the 778 yard. One may also go into the local temple or in front of the obo. This is also usually done on the above-mentioned three days. In the yard itself the fireplace is the incense plate on the central fort in front of the mani-pole (2). If there is no incense plate, the master of the household burns the incense in the central fort (round manger) itself, or on the ground in front of it. Each time, however, the area must first be swept. Worship in front of the fire does not take place directly in front of it; instead people go around the round manger, so that the round manger with the mani-tree, then the fire, then the main house, and finally the mountains behind it are before one. The other persons are also there. No one may ever stand between the fire and the main house.

[192] [177]

2. [Foreign text p. 46.] The incense plate is called fdzañ tše = incense terrace. The Chinese call it sang lu-tzu = cypress-incense oven. In many instances, the Tujen have taken over the Chinese incense oven. It looks like a small temple. Frequently people also make do with a small clay niche. The incense plate on the edge of the round manger is either a stone plate, a brick (tile), or a smooth layer of clay.

[44 cont.]

782 372 Offerings: The fire need not be taken from the hearth or from the kang. It may be freshly lighted in the yard. It is all the same no matter which device is used for starting the fire, matches, flint, etc. To feed the fire when kindling it, straw is most commonly used. Malodorous fuels, like coal, dried dung, etc., which otherwise prevail in profane use, are not allowed.

782 824 The twigs of the cypress tree serve as incense (3).

3. [Foreign text pp. 46-47.] The cypress used for incense is the tuja tree, vulgar: tree of life. Everywhere in Tsinghai this tree is regarded as a superior tree, even among the Chinese, who prefer to use its wood for coffins. The Chinese name is pai-shu (pei-shu or pei-mu) = cedar, juniper, cypress. The Tujen word šgua is a contraction of the Tibetan šug-pa. šug-pa, as the juniper group is called, is native to Tibet: Juniperus excelsa, Juniperus squamosa, Juniperus communis. See Ch. Das, p. 1239 ff. saṅs šiṅ is given there as a synonym: wood of purity. saṅs, however, may also mean "to vaporize, to evaporate," etc.; cf. loc. cit., p. 1265: "evaporation" [cited in English]. Of the other synonyms, lha-yi šiṅ (gods-tree) should be mentioned because the informant, too, maintains that the tree is sacred to Lhamo. If genuine juniper is available, for instance, in wild mountain regions, it, with its berries, is preferred for the incense burning. The Tujen word fdzaṅ (šdzaṅ, saṅ), according to the informant, comes from the

• [778]

[i.e the fire for the morning offering - ANALYST]

[44 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 46-47 cont.] Tibetan. Thus it corresponds to bsaṅs (Ch. Das, p. 1316), "incense." -- In Mongolic the expression for this is sang idegen, "incense-food" (Unkrig). -- The Chinese, too, have taken over this word, at least in Tsinghai, and call the cypress-incense sang. In addition, they have the Chinese expression pei-hsiang: cypress-incense. They call the stick incense, in other words, the incense candles, simply hsiang or pan-hsiang (perhaps: blossom-incense); pan-hsiang is also used as a verb, to burn incense in honor of a person (rarely used). -- For "to burn incense" [47] the Tujen say fdzaṅ ġarġa, "to release incense (to let rise)." They differentiate two types. One is the "great incense," šge fdzaṅ. This incense offering always takes place in the open, and for it complete little branches and twigs are burned. The other kind is the "small incense," mula fdzaṅ. For the latter, not whole twigs, but cypress needles, which are first pounded into an incense powder, are scattered into the fire. It burns very rapidly and makes a great deal of smoke, but produces no wood-smoke. This type is preferred for incense offerings in the house and for fumigating objects at purification ceremonies.

[783]

[778] This tree is consecrated to the mother-goddess Lhamo. The blossoms are supposed to have a pleasant fragrance, no matter what color they are. The more manifold and colorful the kinds are, the better it is. To be sure, they are dried first, so that they will burn well.

3: Schröder--85.M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

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a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer, 1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guämbasoma) in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan. Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof; this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter: "The Gurtum.")

[621 cont.]
loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guãnbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guãmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sẽrãṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lašdze sẽrãṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguãn ula, mountain of the Tuguãn. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]
852 553 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

192 846 Word List

To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852 527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] [302] [778] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[683]

Details

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787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sañrēdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).
171

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune-[624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

[623 cont.]

852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
778 The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a consecrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example, among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

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[628 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.]
(roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

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[782] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

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[177]
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5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.] The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630] 4. The Age-blessing*

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* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are [574] treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special com- [785] mandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.

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Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

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Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

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Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[631 cont.]
husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each [788] one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I [192] could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

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4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over [783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

[292] Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm [292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang, drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. The age-consecration seems to be merely the last step of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

[633 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the džawdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gãŋsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

Word List

Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

Master of ceremonies: kãŋguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzõ niwa (twice) (or dãŋwu, if the first time).

Mother's brother: nēgã; achiu (Chin.); ayãŋ.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

Sash: ġēdzãn (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzãn: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gõŋsõn: Tib. dgoŋ = solitude, soŋ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlõŋba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloŋ = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gãŋsgur:

[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnien dzẽwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gõńsoṅ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gẽlõńba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 000 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

[636 cont.]

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Before the dying person draws his last breath, someone puts a mani-ball, a piece of gold, a piece of silver, and a piece of butter in his mouth. The mani-ball guarantees him an advanced age after the later rebirth (2). Gold and silver testify at the

2. [Foreign text pp. 650-651.] According to the informant, in the case of the mani-ball, mani-ruru, the pill that the Chinese call chen-ling wan, that is, the soul-shaking pill, is involved. According to Taoistic reports in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien, spirit-mirror, this pill is made from the sap of the legendary fan-hun-shu, that is, the soul-restoring tree. This tree grows on the coast of the western ocean. It is of black wood. If one strikes it, it sounds like the growling of a bull. Its root is brewed into a thick brew, and out of this brew the pill is made. The pill has an exceedingly strong scent (the tree can also be smelled miles away). This scent is called fan-hun hsiang, that is, soul-restoring scent. If after someone dies he is touched with this pill within three days or it is burned before him so that the smoke passes over him, or if the pill is put in his mouth, then he comes to life again. Under the Han emperors this kind of incense was supplied as tribute from the Yüeh-chih and supposedly brought dead persons to life in the palace. This pill also plays an important role in the medicine of the lamas. It is the so-called pill of immortality. The Tujen buy this pill in the monasteries. Its color is red. According to their

775 [636 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig). Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1683 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

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rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

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[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] valley in Hsi-ch'uan. The so-called Chia Hsifan (Village Fandse), who originally were Mongols and are Sinicized today, live there. They, too, exactly like the Tujen, put the dead in a crouching position in the crouch-box, although they do not cremate them, but bury them.

Furthermore, the Taoist monks and people who died in a sitting position are buried sitting in the crouch-box. There is an interesting corresponding expression for the death of such people, sōwā guei wōldzia, he has departed sitting, in Chinese tsuo-hua, that is, to be transformed sitting. The word sō- can mean "to sit" as well as "to contemplate." Such people are regarded as saints who, in contemplation, pass into another world. A death in this position is also regarded as especially honorable. A chorten is usually erected on the graves of these people. -- For the Taoist sitting burial, cf. the picture. This photograph was posed. The Taoist priest of Kanchiapu was happy to have himself photographed in his death-box and showed how he would be placed in the box. He kept this box standing in his temple and with pride showed each visitor this beautifully painted piece of carving. A very fine picture is also to be found in F. Dransmann, T'aishan-Kūfu Guide, p. 19. It is the mummy of the Taoist priest Suin, who at the time of Kanghsi worked for 60 years on the T'aishan and, crouching in the death-box, [652]was buried there in the "Grotto of the Immortal" (hsien-

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764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was 412 764 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at [322] all.

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8: [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is, white tiger, because it can become the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

[778] [787] [776]

The enemy of the rolling pin is the threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

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[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
782 front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
[776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded. -- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[644 cont.]

764 792 The lama now takes his place on the bed or the door, over which a white mat has been spread, on the west side of the oven. His face is turned toward the east, facing that of the dead person. Before him stands a little kang table with his cult implements. Next to it lie two pieces of sacking, on which two white cloth runners have been spread; the little plates with the spices and the materials for the fire-pouring (cf. the appropriate section) stand on that. On the white cloth there is also a tray with a torma. The lama prepared it in the morning in the house of mourning and brought it along. This torma represents a spirit that protects the dead person and leads him westward into the land of rebirth. -- The lama comes from the west, the land of the Buddhas, and goes to the east; therefore he is seated opposite the dead person.

[778] [775]

764 372 The fire preparation: Now the iron kettle is put on three stones and a great fire is kindled under it; it does not matter how this fire is made. Several lumps of butter are thrown into the kettle and allowed to melt. The men then make the lighting pole, while the lama begins the prayers for the dead.

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The lighting pole is a stick two to three meters long. Any wood desired can be used for it. A thick strand of cotton wadding is wound on one end. The master of ceremonies now brings a paper lantern, in which there is a small butter-lamp. It must be a butter-lamp; an oil-lamp or a candle is not permitted. In olden times there were no butter-lamps either, but wooden splinters from the oil fir. This lamp may not be lighted with ordinary fire, for instance, with the fire from the butter-kettle. It must be new fire which is struck from the flint on the first blow. If the master of ceremonies does not get a spark the first time, he may not try it a second time with the same stone. For this reason he keeps a whole series of flint stones in readiness (18). Now if the spark has fallen on the

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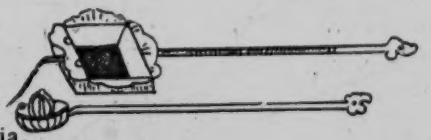
18. [Foreign text 656.] In recent times matches are also used instead of the flint stones. In this case, too,

[645 cont.]

764 [783] [792] All who participated at the cremation wash their hands and fumigate them in a great incense fire in front of the yard gate. Then they drink tea and hold a funeral meal. The lama usually returns to his monastery on the same day.

[415] Ladling spoon and pouring tube. In the spoon, the thunderbolt, rdo-rja.



[532] (Drawing of a Tujen.]

764 795 792 [778] The fire-pouring is undertaken only in the case of those persons who have received a Buddhist baptism. Old people in addition also receive the age-consecration and are regarded as lay monks. If someone has died without the Buddhist baptism, it is performed after death. This is done by the lama with the help of a chest mirror. Since no water may flow over the dead person, the lama holds the chest shield in front of him so that the head is mirrored in it. He pours the consecrated water from his can over this mirror image and gives the baptismal prayer (20).

20. [Foreign text p. 656.] The fact that no water may flow over the dead person is not the only reason for the washing in the mirror. The mirror image is washed even in the case of living persons, just as at the consecration of Buddha images. In this connection cf. also Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141. In the passage, "Then he takes a little metal mirror, points its front side in all directions, and sprinkles it with a few drops of water from his cult vessel," it is not a matter of simply turning the mirror

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[645 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 656 cont.]
back and forth, but in all probability it is to catch the mirror images of the boys who have been brought before the Kampo and to wash these images.

[778] One thus baptized may now also, regardless of his youthful age, receive the age-consecration and become a member of the monks. Through this, every person, whether man or woman, from the twentieth year on, is assured of having the fire-pouring [783] by the lama at the cremation. The fire-pouring is a purifica- [372] tion for the dead, similar to baptism.

764 Ordinary cremation: If no fire-pouring takes place, then
766 no lama appears at the cremation. All ceremonies are dispensed
[792] with. The cremation is likewise taken care of by the master of ceremonies, the two fire guards, the sons-in-law, and the nephews. But no lighting pole is used, no butter melted, and no fire struck; rather, the oven is lighted with any piece of [372] wood or a match. Nonetheless insofar as possible one sees to it that cypress twigs are at hand for kindling the fire. This is desirable, but not essential.

764 [646] Bone storage and later interment: One waits three
602 days for the bone storage. During these three days the members of the family go to the oven every evening, burn paper there, kowtow, and pour tea and soup on the ground.

On the morning of the third day the relatives on the father's side gather in the house of mourning and drink tea. Afterwards they go to the place of cremation, that is, the men and women of the deceased's own family and at least one man, but no women, of the related families, and furthermore the master of ceremonies and the two fire guards. The [782] relatives on the mother's side do not appear any more. At the oven they make an offering of 12 loaves and several pieces of thin unleavened flat bread, burn paper, and set down tea.
764 After they have then kowtowed, men and women dig the bones out of the four fire holes and put them in the bone-casket. Only

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month.

[765] [769] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to

[765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's

[776] [778] [823] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The

[465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[823 conr.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 789 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

[782] First the men make the great incense offering, which is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the [782] extra features, before the pole. A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then [782] all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other [264] occasions.

[824 cont.]

241 789 791 [778] This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made, which represents the four others; there is also the weather-torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the [782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest, [465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 789 791 787 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 789 778 [621] [791] Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mountain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
778 with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
the next year.
[791] The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
789 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
791 tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
[178] out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class, the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because
[292] he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but
[562] little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
778 poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

[825 cont.]
241 It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and
789 dogs. The hide is not used for magic.
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[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown
[782] in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master,
[791] amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.
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241 Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern
789 himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat
778 as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they
825 make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because
[787] the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned
[252] goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.

778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujer

[532]
[791] The weather-torma: The Bon priest meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.

[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[792] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger, wooden peg, mpuru. (From the drawing of a Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 [791] The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest inscribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

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7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

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[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [217] The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

[788] Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [823] The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bön brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]
241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).
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3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a mandala. It is interesting that the informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.

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241 The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a threefold kowtow.

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241 With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.

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[828 cont.]
241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
821 befalls the seed and human beings (6).

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[171]

6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

[778]
Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

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The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

[791]
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The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons. The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

[765]

192 [829] Word List

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The pole-goat: aradziañ (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rëdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

The goat: ima; chü-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 Weather-prayer: dirëdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
241 lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.
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8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnag̀: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: g̀uax (8) [see Note 8 above] s̀dor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib. ?).
Magic formulas: snag̀ (sënog̀).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuändie; sënog̀sa (snag̀sa) (Tib. loanword). peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnag̀ (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasg̀a (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[831 cont.]

241 782 787 in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šənliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

[103] [797] [778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

241 782

1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[835 cont.] 4. The Procession around the Field

Report

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782 As soon as the seed develops ears in the summer, the procession around the field takes place. One hundred and eight men of the village, with the seed-supervisor, set out on the [178] way to the nearest lamasery and fetch the 108 sacred books. On this occasion they present a large kettle of tea to the lamas; before the Buddha images of the monastery they make an offering of butter for the lamps. The Tujen of this region go usually to the monastery Rgulõñ (1); the way there takes an entire day

1. [Foreign text p. 838.]
Concerning the monastery Rgulõñ,
cf. the introduction and Part 2, II, 4.

each time. The books are brought into the local temple.

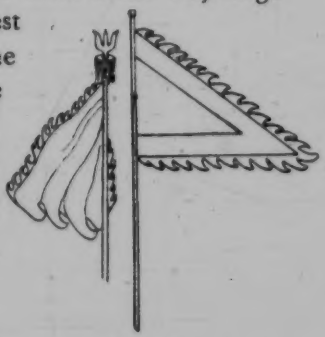
The procession takes place on the following morning. All the men of the village and all soothsayers gather in the temple yard. First a great incense offering is made. Then all [791] the soothsayers do their soothsaying in succession, the spear-[787] soothsayer, the sword-shaman, the litter bearers, the table-god bearers. As many soothsayers as are there must appear. One wants to find out through them how the weather and the harvest will be during the course of the summer.

Once the soothsaying is over, the procession starts moving. At the head goes the spear-soothsayer with the spear, then follow the shamans, the god-litter, the spirit-table, and the 108 book-bearers, one after the other. In this procession [533] the drum beaters, trumpet and conch blowers, cymbal and gong beaters are in single file. Also, all the flags of the temple are taken along, and they are carried by the book-bearers, the flags over the left shoulder and the book on the back. Two men follow behind them, each with a large back-basket of straw, cypress leaves and incense additions, and a jug of pure water. Other men join on at will.

[788] During the entire procession the trumpets are blown, the drums beaten, and the Om mani padme hum prayed. The

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful-borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] [791] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 [82] Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

[837 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.]
soothsaying, for instance, a cock offering, grain or bread offering, etc., as I was able to observe.

Meaning: The purpose of the procession is to honor the gods so that they will protect the seed and provide an abundant harvest. [778] The sacred books have a special power. Above all, however, the gods that are taken along are supposed to spare the fields from hail and storms. -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have [171] this procession. The Chinese do not have it in this form (5).

5. [Foreign text pp. 838-839.]
The Chinese have the procession in two stages. Once, when the seed comes up. Then the driving in of the thunderbolts in the weather forts on the mountain peaks takes place. They move with music and flags and the god-litter onto the mountain and take along the wooden wedges inscribed with magical formulas. They call this ch'a-p'ai, that is, "to drive in pegs." -- A second procession takes place later in the summer, and every 14 days, on the first and fifteenth day of each month. They call this procession chuan shan, that is, to march around (on the) mountains. On these occasions only flags or musical instruments are taken along. Formerly the conch trumpet was blown on these occasions, which otherwise is not used among the Chinese.

[177] As the informant related, the Tujen today have already to a great

3; Schröder--248 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Mongol AE9

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[838 cont.]

Seed-supervisor:	tŏrōdzi (supreme head); ch'ing-miao t'ou (Chin.) = young-seed-master.
Trumpet:	dõn̆; la-pa (Chin.) = Chin. shawm.
Cymbals:	nao (Chin.) = the large beating plates; rĕbuoġĕ (?). ts'a (ch'a)-pao (Chin.) = small sounding plates.
Flags:	ch'i-tzu (Chin.).
Books:	luăn = prayer; ching (Chin.) = prayer.
Book-bearers:	luăn rĕgudzin kun = prayer-bearing people.

[Pages 838-839 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[839]

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VI. Customs in case of Misfortune for Man and Animal

1. The Animal-consecration*

*See "Notes," pp. 842-844 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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When the children die, the cattle are stricken, the harvest is battered, or other great misfortunes befall a family, a god is angry. One must appease him. Sometimes the god desires an animal. One learns from the soothsayer which god and which animal are involved (1). He summons the spirit

1. [Foreign text p. 842.] Here, too, the soothsaying can be done through the litter or the spirit-table,

3: Schröder--249 M-5 (1946-1949) 1952-1953 AE9 Mongolei A19

[839 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 842 cont.]
with which then the performance is
likewise supervised.

into the spear, and one asks him, for instance, "Shall we consecrate an animal?" He answers, "Yes." "Do you want a goat, a hen, a horse?" [840] "No." "Do you want a sheep?" "Yes." "Shall we consecrate it to a god?" "No." "Shall we consecrate it to the sky?" "Yes."

Then the soothsayer sets the spear aside. Hastily the people run to fetch a sheep. They bring it into the yard, because one consecrates an animal to the sky only out in the open. A man holds in his hand a little plate with barley; on top of this he places a narrow red band. He stands next to the soothsayer, who again has invoked the god and amidst spear shaking supervises the action. Now once more there is an interrogation, during which one determines when the consecration is to be renewed.

The sheep is then washed from head to foot with pure water. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from the little plate with the tip of the spear and throws them into the [783] incense, which is burned throughout the ceremony. Another puts some of the incense in a hollow tile and fumigates the sheep all around. Then he pours a bowl of milk over the animal's neck, back, and head. All the men kneel around the sheep in a circle, and when it shakes itself they make a threefold kowtow, for the sky has accepted the animal. The soothsayer sets the spear aside.

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Now one takes the red band from the little plate, holds it in the incense, ties it in the wool on the sheep's shoulder, and lets the sheep run free. It may run where it will, for it belongs to the sky.

Each year this sacred sheep is again brought here in the first month from the first to the fifteenth day. Then the consecration is renewed in similar fashion before the spirit-spear and a new band is tied in the wool.

3: Schröder--250 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[840 cont.]

Details

778 787 [783] Place: It is unimportant where the interrogation takes place; first the spot must be swept clean and, in case it is in the house, fumigated. The hands and face are washed and the great incense offering is made in the yard.

If the ceremony is in an open field or in the pasture, the place is not swept, for field and pasture are always clean. Incense is always offered, however.

Sometimes the place of interrogation and that of the consecration are different, for instance, when during the interrogation in the house it turns out that the animal is to be consecrated to the sky. In that case, one immediately goes out into the yard and continues the performance there. -- If the animal is consecrated to the mountain-spirit, one goes outside the village on a hill or before the obo. Small animals, for instance, a hen, may be consecrated in the house before the household altar.

If the entire village consecrates an animal, then everything takes place in the temple yard, and likewise if several families jointly consecrate an animal. If there is no temple, a clean compound is sought.

Time: There are no special days for the consecration. It depends entirely upon chance, whenever illness, misfortune, etc. happen. The ceremonies are always undertaken in bright daylight.

[841] The people are always careful that the consecration follows immediately after the interrogation. For this reason they immediately fetch the animal. Sometimes it also happens that they do not immediately find an appropriate animal; then one to two days pass between the interrogation and the consecration. In this case after two days one continues amidst the same ceremonies. Only the purification of the place and of the people and the incense offering are repeated.

778 562 Consecration-master: The consecration-master may be: an individual person, a family, a village, several families. It

[841 cont.]

778 562 is never women, however. It is true that a single woman may promise an animal, for example, but in such a case other men, such as the mother's brother, undertake the interrogation and consecration. This may be done in the house of the woman.

778 825 [783] [178] Animals: As consecration-animals the following are permissible: horses, mules, asses, cows, sheep, goats, and even hens; pigs or dogs are never taken because they are unclean. In the case of all these animals, age, color, sex, or castration plays no role. White or male animals are not especially preferred. Large animals are no longer consecrated now, because the Tujen no longer have the large herds and are too poor. Usually one promises sheep and goats. Hens are frequently chosen because they are the cheapest (2).

2. [Foreign text pp. 842-843.] In the Tujen monastery Rgulon the choice of animals is different. A lama and a shaman related: one never consecrates dogs, and no hens, [843] only cocks, but these in all colors. Of the horses one takes only stallions; they must be black with a white spot on the forehead or grey (ch'ing-ma) of black-white mixed color. Of the mules one takes only females, no male animals. Their color is a bright reddish-brown. Belly, mouth, and eye-rings should be light. Of ordinary cattle and yaks one takes only black steers that have a white spot on the forehead; similarly among the sheep only black rams, flawless and with circular or doubly curled horns. -- I also saw such animals there in the monastery. The consecrated mule was especially beautiful; it looked almost exactly like a wild

3: Schröder--252 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Mongol AE9

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.] chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

[178]

A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

[688]

[782]

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

[262] Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[432] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals,
[422] so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rgulon each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

[171] It could not be discovered which gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

1 [Le - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249 - ANALYST]

[842 cont.]

778 [825] -- The name of the animals, however, is not taken from the deity concerned, but from the consecration band. Thus, the animals are called consecrated horse, consecrated sheep, etc. The Chinese say "sacred horse," "sacred sheep," etc.

Consecration bands: The bands are simply called "the consecrated." Although all the sacred colors are permissible, red or yellow is preferred for them. It does not matter where the band comes from or what material it is made of. Hada strips, pieces of clothing, wool or silk threads, anything is permitted. The size varies, but on the average it is an ell long and two fingers wide.

The band is supposed to be tied on the front part of the body and on the upper half of the animal, for instance, on the mane, forelock, or shoulder. In the case of hens one slings it around the neck. If the animal loses the band, it is not replaced. -- One can also tear off a band from the spirit-spear, from the spirit-litter, etc. In that case, however, it must later be replaced. Nevertheless these bands are not especially fumigated; they are already pure through their earlier designation (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 843-844.] There are two names for the bands on the consecrated animal, which are valid both before the consecration and after the consecration. The one is the name šdien, exactly as for the bands on the consecrated spirit-seats (spirit-spear, -table, -litter). But whereas in that case one can call the object together with the bands šdien, here the animal together with the band is never called šdien, but only the band alone, an indication that the consecrated animal is not regarded as possessed by the spirit.

[192]

[825]

[842 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 843-844 cont.]

The second name is šdier; šdier corresponds to the Mongolic seter; cf. DMF, p. 335, "šdier, ribbon or piece of material attached to the tail or to the mane of an animal consecrated to the deities running free. Cf. Mong. seter, ord. se't'er id." [translated from French]. -- The Tujen designate both the consecration band and the consecrated animal with šdier. This likewise agrees with Mongolic linguistic usage. According to W.A. Unkrig (communication), seter is a [844] band that is tied in the animal's mane or tail. seter also refers to the animal itself and the rite by which it is consecrated. For seter, Kovalevskij (1346) gives the Tibetan equivalents bsruń rtags. According to Jäschke (594 and 212) this means: tutelary-spirit sign, through which it is clear that the animal belongs to the tutelary spirit. Neither Jäschke nor Das have the word combination bsruń rtags.

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[791] Renewal of the consecration: Usually the renewal takes place in the local temple. The soothsayer determines which day between the new and the full moon. This day of renewal must then be maintained for the life of the animal.

One may also choose the original place of consecration. -- Consecration-master, consecration-god, and consecration-animal must always remain the same. Only if an animal no longer shakes itself when the milk is poured over it is another one taken.

[211] Also, old lost bands are not replaced at the renewal, but every year a new band is added, so the years of consecration can be determined by the number of bands.

[171] Distribution: The animal-consecration is practiced wherever Tujen live. The Chinese do not know it; only in

[842 cont.]

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isolated instances do they copy it from the Tujen, where they live with them. The Fandse (Tangut) and also the lamic monasteries do have the animal-consecration. There it is much more solemn (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 844.]
The animal-consecration among the neighboring Chiahsifan in Benbar (Hsi-ch'uan) is similar to the one described here. There, however, one only takes animals capable of reproduction, but no asses. The preferred colors are chestnut-colored hide with black mane and black tail (hung-tsao-liu) and eggshell-colored hide with black mane and black tail (yin-k'uo). In place of a band of material one takes small hand-sized rags (cut in the form of streamers) in the five sacred colors and ties them together. Usually they are tied in the mane. -- The consecration is not performed by private persons, but by the lama, shamans, or Bon priests. A one-day prayer service is connected with it. -- The animals are usually kept for use in the house, and even ridden, but a saddle that a woman has used may never be put on them. The renewal takes place every year on the same day of the first consecration.

One sees many riders with such beribboned animals.

[842 cont.]

Word List

Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.

To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.

The consecration-animal: šdier.

Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).

Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).

Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[845 cont.]

789 elegant hat, black and white sugar, fresh good butter, a piece of
782 raw meat, dates, apples, and other fruits. All these things must be new; they may not have been used even once, for otherwise the demon is not satisfied and returns.

789 Releasing: In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes
[778] a large three-cornered torma (1). The master of the household
[792]

1. [Foreign text pp. 846-847.] This form of torma can frequently be seen in lamaseries. They are especially reserved for demons. It is usually a pyramid of dough from 30 to 50 centimeters high. The types seem to vary. I saw some that were hung with intestines and bore death's-head figures (at the banishing of the mBarma in Kumbum); others had an arrow with a mani-wheel stuck in them, etc. Evidently the Tibetan zor, Mongol. = sor [847] (Unkrig), is involved. Ch. Das writes under zor, p. 1098: "reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor ma offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows" [cited in English]. There is a very detailed description of the manufacture, consecration, and use of the zor in Pozdneev, Skizzen [Sketches] (pp. 283 ff.): "A three-cornered pyramid, hollow on the inside, which is made of dough and colored a flaming red, is called zor. Figures are engraved on it with the burin, such as flowers, circles, fiery tongues, etc., as a result

[845 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.] of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

[791] [787] On the following morning, the seventh day, one invites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791] [792] A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[846 cont.]

789 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the
776 demon will punish him.
688

Word List

192 Demon escort: rëdzõ̃nwa (Tib.?) gargani = one takes away
789 that which is to be taken away.
[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].
Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).
Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

600 3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

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789 . . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one
791 invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then
[777] they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they
[778] make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.
[782] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

1 [i.e - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[848 cont.]

789 778 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter. [783] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 778 791 532 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel, fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures. [783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand. [782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

[782] The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small, at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is [783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

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[787]
[791]
[533]

[849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away. They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.

[782]
[171]

The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[849 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

192
784 Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šẽ (Tib.) = demon, rẽgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib.?) = complete (3) (5).
[778]

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawoǵ: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[791] Bon priest: xuãndzie (xuãndie).
[778] Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[829] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imã.
Hen: taǵu.
Pig: xgẽ.
Dog: noǵue (noxue).
Snake: moǵue.
Frog: šbawoǵ (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulã.

[849 cont.]
Raven's feather: kẽrie fõdë.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzërẽ ilieni xuarladzia.
Horse's skull: mori tolgue yäsë.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgẽdzĩn kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõn in rdzõhwa is the same as in dzõnrë. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

Report

In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, depending upon the sickness involved.

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 532 [171] [789]

The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

755 782 Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
756 him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop. A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immedi-
[787] ately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
[756] kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece

[778]

3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

can no longer see where the things are buried.

Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his trance.

Word List

Figure-conjuration: rdzõ̃ñwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)

6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzõ̃ñwa or dzõ̃ñre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). siradzin: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

Figures (little men): rdzõ̃ñrẽ (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Raw meat: tõgõ̀ maxa.

Black food-bowl: xara iga.

Black vessel: xara pẽndzẽ.

Knife: tsidẽ̀guo.

Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.

Chain: fsiasga.

Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

[Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[854 cont.]

Details

755 789 [416] Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism: 1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are several. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow. The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long

[778] [171]

3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rgulõn, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namśri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a mani-pole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms. -- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.]
about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

192

Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõ̀wa (rĕdzṍwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: taše̋; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sĕmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lĕmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uluosĕ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: tagū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
● [778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

[856]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[856 cont.]

782 soothsayer determines that the earth-god is angry and wants to
[791] have an urn. This urn is buried in the ground on a day indicated
[787] by the soothsayer. All kinds of spices are to be found in the urn,
[777] put there by a lama. This is done after a seven-day prayer in
the family itself. During these days the compound is taboo.
[792] Usually there are several urns, because one does not bother the lama for merely one. After he has filled the urn with spices on the last day, he pours liquid butter over it, ties it up with a cloth, seals the string, and paints a nuru sign on the outside. Then the urn is fumigated and sprinkled with holy water, whereupon the master of the household places it on the chest before the Buddha image.

In front of the urn one places the usual little water-bowls, butter-lamps, grain-bowls, etc. The urn, however, does not stand on the bare floor of the chest, but rather a sheet of paper is first put down as an underlayer, a few cypress leaves and grains of barley are scattered over it, and the urn is put on top.
[792] Now the lama comes down from the kang, sits on the white felt mat in front of the urn, and gives the consecration-prayer (1).

[778] 1. [Foreign text p. 858.] As is always done on other occasions, here, too, a torma is made by the lama, which is carried out into the open. It was unfortunately no longer possible to inquire as to whether this torma is put on the place where the urn is buried, say, as an offering for the earth, which is to be injured, similar to what is done at the house, at the fire-pouring, at the crematory, etc.

791 During this time the spear-soothsayer is fetched. He
787 now gives the precise hour in which the urn is to be buried.
782 The master of the household puts the urn on a tray, and the procession moves out to the area indicated by the soothsayer. The soothsayer follows with the invoked spear-god and then

[857 cont.]

782 [824] the incense offering, the good six. To this are added little leaves of Buddha gold, little pieces of silver, corals, little pieces of mother-of-pearl, sometimes rare stones or water, and then five-colored silk threads, white and black sugar, tea leaves, and a few little balls of butter.

The filling: First a mortar with pestle, a large earthen vessel, and a clean iron kettle are provided. All these objects are thoroughly washed and fumigated in the incense fire. The spices are pounded to flour in the mortar and then poured by the lama into the vessel, where they are thoroughly mixed with the five kinds of grain. The quantity depends on the size of the urn. Meanwhile the master of the household melts a lump of butter in the iron kettle over the fire. The lama pours this melted butter into the grain and spice mixture with a spoon and thoroughly kneads everything together.

He puts this mixture into the urn, but only one-third of it. Over this first filling he puts a layer of the other additions, gold, silver, etc. Then the remaining two-thirds are added, almost up to the rim of the urn, and the liquid butter is poured on, almost to overflowing. The master of the household brings a yellow or red hada (or cloth), fumigates it, and hands it to the lama. He ties up the urn with it in three layers, in which the colors yellow and red may alternate. The thread that is wound around the cloth must also be yellow or red and is first fumigated. Once everything is thoroughly tied up, the knot is covered with sealing wax (3) and finally stamped with a seal

[439]

3. [Foreign text p. 858.] Latsia, as the sealing wax is called, is obtainable from Chinese traders.

[778] [386] that bears Tibetan signs. Afterwards the lama paints a nuru jewel on the white urn with red pigment, usually red clay, which is to signify a treasure. This makes the urn distinguishable as a treasure for the earth-god (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 858.] The Tujen call the symbol of good

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.] fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmaṇi. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [357] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.] As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In [192] Kumbum the urns are usually called benba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdēr-wēm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sēnoġ-dēr (cf. section, [778] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure. urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

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Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] silk wrapping, etc. is transferred into the urn; in other cases without this deity, as, for instance, the urns accompanying the central urn in the chorten chamber and central fort, or, as in the preceding section, alone. In this case it is to be conceived as a representation of the earth with its vital and germinating forces and its treasures, as was shown above in the section on the arrow of good fortune. In the other case the earth-god takes his seat in his realm (urn). The urn is simply a part of the representation of the world-picture (mandala), as the realm of the earth-god.

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What these earth deities are is unclear. In any case the ġlu (Tib. klu) or Nagas belong among them. In addition, however, another earth-deity is venerated among the Tujen, which perhaps is of Chinese origin, for like the Chinese they also have a pig offering in honor of the earth-god and certain ceremonies for pardon that are connected with a grain offering. They are performed especially in connection with digging, housebuilding, etc., or when someone suffers harm while digging. Unfortunately I was no longer able to record these ceremonies. It cannot be definitely determined whether this earth-spirit is male or female.

[171]

Another group to be considered is šman. A part of the filling is called ġlu-smăn (Tib. klu-sman); cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering," Note 11. According to H. Hoffmann,

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

192
782 Earth-god: ġlu (glē).
[776] Earth-god urn: sēnoġ-der; sēnoġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
[778] To buy an urn: sēnoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzē (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.]
Concerning rdzē, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 860 cont.] consecrated objects and various sorts of medicines) required to be kept in the sacred-pot which contains the sacred water" [cited in English]. In his case, however, the holy-water urn, bum pa, is involved. Cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering."

All kinds of filling: yilĕ tawa ndzuomladzi = all kinds -- filling -- being complete.

Urn binding: ama budzin = opening-binding.

Sealing wax: latsia (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 860.] latsia: comes from the Chinese; la-cha = sealing wax. nuru: Tib. nor bu; also called yid-bžin = a treasure that one desires (Unkrig).

[778] Jewel of good fortune: nuru (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].

Buddha gold: fo-chin (Chin.).

Coral: šurĕ.

Mother-of-pearl: mădoġ (Tib. loanword).

[824] White rice: tsiġan tudurġa; no-mi (Chin.).

Yellow rape: sira yañsgar; shen-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.) = spirit-rape.

[Pages 858-860 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions. They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying. One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks [792] ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, 782 as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the [792] morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of [351] them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring [784] is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[862 cont.]

778 782 of the ceremonies. -- The three tormas are left standing until three days after the fire-pouring and then are eaten by the members of the family. They may also be given to the domestic animals. In summer, however, they are often already so moldy that they are only fit for dogs. The names of the three tormas [171] agree with the names of the gods that they represent. This is similar to the ancestral tables of the Chinese, which are likewise set up and venerated. -- 3. On the afternoon of the sixth day a fifth torma is made. It is smaller than the others and represents the earth- or mountain-spirit, for which reason it is also called earth-spirit (mountain-spirit) torma. The lama puts it on the place selected for the fire-pouring. In front of it, as votive gifts, there are: three bowls of water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of tea, a butter-lamp, and three sticks of incense. The lama sprinkles the torma with holy water from [792] the wumba can, while the master of the household burns incense in front of it. Then the lama settles down on a felt mat and says a votive prayer in which he requests the earth-spirit to free the burning-place for the fire-pouring. After the prayer the torma is put on a wall or thrown away in the field so that the birds will eat it. The color of this torma is white. 4. Finally a sixth torma is made on the morning of the seventh day. It is not made of tsamba mixed with butter like the other tormas, but of pure butter alone. It represents the fire-god and is therefore colored a fiery red. Before the fire-pouring it is placed on the ground-drawing and afterwards burned with the rest.

782 824 The burnt offerings: For the actual fire-pouring the following things are needed: 1. Firewood and twigs from the tree of life. They are supplied by the gift-master (that is, of the particular family). The firewood is an ell long. Formerly only fir wood was used; nowadays the wood of the white poplar is popular. One takes branch- and knot-free pieces as thick as an arm, which are split lengthwise. The length and being free of branch-knots are prescribed. 2. Butter, which is melted for the fire-pouring and poured into the fire. It must not be too old.

3: Schröder--298 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

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(Caption on following page.)

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-
782 k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same
756 shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There
[754] are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter,
[341] "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or
[292] shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen
534 village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festi-
[778] val, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds
[142] the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring.
792 Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers
292 west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death posi-
764 tion in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photo-
[171] graph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire.
792 The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during
[784] these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards,
[333] the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed. The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.]
about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The
302 lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They
792 also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the
372 felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

● [778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 869-870 cont.]

Wood for the yellow fire-pouring: maġa (Tib.); dziañma (Mongol.); chien-yang liu (Chin.); the wood is used a great deal for mill wheels; it seems to be a kind of maple. I also saw it a great deal among carvers, who praise it as the best wood for carving.

[778]

Fire-torma: dămbala (Tib.).

Yellow fire-pouring: sēru dżiwi źūin tseġ (Tib.).

Red fire-pouring: ġõngĕ dżiwi źūin tseġ (Tib.).

White fire pouring: siwi dżiwi żūin tseġ (Tib.).

Black fire-pouring: dżoġguei dżiwi żūin tseġ (Tib.).

Burnt offerings: rdzē (Tib., Mongol.).

Butter: marku (Tib.); dasu (Mongol.).

[870]

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Grain: nie (Tib.); tara (Mongol.); the Mongols there designate Tibetan barley, ch'ing-k'o, with tara, which is simply grain.

Wheat: dšō (Tib.); budĕ (Mongol.).

Beans: tšamā (Tib.); burdzieġ (Mongol.).

Barley: sō (Tib.); sõtara (Mongol.); it is probably a combination of the Tibetan sō and the Mongolic tara (grain).

White rape: yõngur (Tib., Mongol.); pei-ts'ai-tzu (Chin.).

Indian incense grass: gusia (Tib., Mongol.); wei-tzu ts'ao (Chin.); that is, reed. Evidently the kuśa grass designated by Filchner, Kumbum, p. 88 and Note 400, which supposedly stems from India, is involved here.

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. -- gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) = botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndoṅmani: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ (Sanskrit. simha) = lion, gdoṅ = face, mani = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni: can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta = horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also voice; in other words: the horse-necked one, or the horse-voiced one. -- logoṅ: Tibetan klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ = face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face (Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.
Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.
Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.
Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.
Pattern: arasë xuar = leather model; tsialdzë xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[393] Wall: lāṅgaṅ (Chin. loanword).
Pouring tube: šge gaṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.
Ladling spoon for butter: mula gaṅsār = little spoon.
Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yūelwa = air-cloth.
rloṅ yāg (Tib.).
Cloth (profane): bosë.

[203 cont.]

776

I. The Total Religious Picture

1. The Deities

a) The Higher Deities

The higher deities are to be understood as those figures that do not belong among the so-called purġan, but are mentioned separately from these by their own names. These are heaven (tieṅġĕre), the mountain-spirit (yifula), and the earth-deity or earth-deities (ġlu; itoġa). They seem to be the older deities and will be dealt with later when the belief in a supreme god is discussed.

b) The Lower Deities

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The lower deities can all be included under the generic name purġan. The word purġan is none other than the term customary in the literature, Burchan (Burkhan, Burkan), which, as is well known, stands for "god" in large parts of Central Asia. The origin of this name has not been clarified. Usually a connection with "Buddha" is assumed, and the word is derived from the compound Bud(dah)-Khan; see W. Schmidt, UdG, X, p. 573, with reference to the sources. This passage, which deals with the Tungus, emphasizes that there Burkan predominately refers to foreign deities, a situation that is quite close to that found among the Tujen. Another explanation connects the word with the Buddhistic grave-monument (oral communication from W. A. Unkrig), namely, purġan supposedly arose from the Mongolic suburġan. The word suburġan in turn is derived from the Tibetan spur-k'aṅ, house of corpses, cremation place. Since consonant clusters are avoided in Mongolic, a u was inserted between the s and the p for easier pronunciation, just as also happens in the case of other word derivations. Thus from spur, through the transformation of the p (which the Mongols do not have) to b, the word subur arose. The n in k'an is slurred into a simple n.

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With suburġan (spur-k'aṅ) one designated the same thing as with the Tibetan mc'od-rten, chorten or stupa, which literally

[203 cont.]

192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
776 bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person. A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204] what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan. This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot. As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the beńkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be oc-
776 cupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire. They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
[791] are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[787] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
171 are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
769 ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
764 stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
782 the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
573 even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
753 indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
756 for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
755 soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzĕ xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
171 to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
778 the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[209 cont.]

772 The sky-column and world-mountain (world-tree) are emphasized above all at the central fort and the chorten chamber. In both cases, however, a strong emphasis on the realm of the underworld, which is represented by the urns, is also striking. The latter are nothing other than the realm of the Nagas, who play such an important role in the Bon religion and point to the pre-Buddhistic roots of the conception of the world. The arrangement of the urns and of the scrolls in the urns mirrors the world order in the four directions of the compass and their center. [782] The treasure urns thus represent the wealth of the earth. At the same time they are regarded as an offering to the earth-deities, whereas the main urn is the dwelling of the deities. To what extent magical effects are intended still remains to be investigated. In this connection one must also take into consideration the burying of objects in general, as, for instance, in the case of the obo, the weather fort, the warding-off magic against sickness, the construction of a compound, etc.

The air-horse on the mani-tree (mani-flag) seems to be less closely connected with the world-mountain. Indeed, it is frequently set up separately. The connection with the mani-tree is probably due to the circumstance that it simultaneously represents the four directions of the compass (2). At the same

2. The five cloth tabs on the mani-flag (cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, p. 56, Fig. 7 [see p. 100 above in the HRAF translation]) are evidently a curtailment and combination of formerly variously colored air-horse flags; four of these are regarded as the bearers of the air-horse- or wind-master and are arranged according to the four directions of the compass. This conclusion comes from a Tibetan text, for whose French résumé I am indebted to Professor Doctor R. Stein (Paris).

[209 cont.]

772 778 [614] [35] time, an inner significance cannot be denied to it. The air-horse is the symbol and the guarantor of the destiny of the family, of the kin group. Human destiny, however, is fitted into the course of the world, just as the kin-group compound occupies its place in the world-structure. According to Tujen conception, a compound is not "complete" if the central fort and mani-tree are lacking. Through them the living space of the kin group is given conformity with the living space of the other living beings.

The world is no rigid schema, however; this is proved by the significance of the arrow of good fortune. In its way, the arrow of good fortune also represents the world: the [210] urn symbolizes the earth with its fruit; the arrow, the connecting column to the sky. Frequently four other arrows corresponding to the four directions of the compass are added to the central arrow. The vital force in the arrow of good fortune is new and not observable in the other world-representations (central fort, mandala, etc.). The germs of things, the force of increase and of life, are conjured into it. It guarantees wealth, good fortune, and a full life. The tufts of hair from the animals and the grain in the urn signify that these things will not be lost to the owner even when he has sold them. The oracle-toys of the children on the arrow guarantee the development of the young person in the corresponding direction; the hairs and threads of clothing from the bride insure that despite the loss of the daughter her good fortune will not escape. The dynamism of the world is expressed on the arrow of good fortune, whereas on the mandala (central fort, etc.), more the fixed order. Here, however, the cosmic force, the sap of life, and germinal base are not to be conceived as mana, but are to be derived from their connection with the superposed heaven. The astral, heavenly order is not only the model of its earthly mirror-image; it also imparts to the world its force, which permeates both. The references in the chapter on the arrow of good fortune already offer several indications of this. These conceptions can still be pursued much further. Their threads are quite tangled; they extend back to very early cultural forms and are linked with the oldest kind of communication between heaven and earth. Old forms of sacrifice and having the deities present are linked

[210 cont.]
772 with it (3).
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3. The arrow of good fortune, in other words, occupies the place of the tree of life, to which men, animals, and plants owe their existence and their development; cf. Uno Holmberg, Der Baum des Lebens [The Tree of Life], p. 69 f. Among the Na-khi this tree of life is the juniper tree (Juniperus). The well-being, wealth, and the unfolding of life of human beings are ascribed to it; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpō, pp. 21, 42, 94. As the wood of life, the arrow of good fortune in the house also represents the world axis, similar to the central column in temples, chortens, god-figures (human spinal column), which is designated by the Tibetan name srog śiṅ, that is, the wood of life. H.A.Jäschke (Dictionary, p. 585) translates the expression with "axle, axle tree" [cited in English]. As a supplement, let it be mentioned that this srog śiṅ is probably also the equivalent for the Tujen name of the sky-column (sõn-siṅ) in the chorten chamber; cf. Anthropos 47, 1952, pp. 76, 78, 79 [pp. 143, 137, 143, in the HRAF translation]. (Personal suggestion from Professor Doctor R. Stein).

The conception of the arrow of good fortune as a personification of the god of life is no longer vital among the Tujen. That it may have this significance is proved by the Na-khi in southwestern China. Instead of the treasure urn with

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the arrow of good fortune of the Tujen, they have a basket. In it, among other things, there is a miniature tower; it represents the god of life, called Ssu, Tibetan srog lha. The basket is his home. The miniature tower (t'a, "pagoda") may also be replaced by an arrow, so that this represents the god of life; cf. J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 146, 250, 251 (according to a personal communication). The significance of the god of life and his home agrees with the significance of the arrow of good fortune and the treasure urn. -- S. Hummel has also pointed to the arrow as the bearer of reproductive power and of the cosmic vital force; cf. Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien [Secret Tibetan Paintings], pp. 8-14 passim.

Very ancient and widespread representations are involved here. The connection of god of life and ancestor and his seat in an urn or basket, etc. can be followed all the way to Indochina; and in the burial urns and Shang bronzes in ancient China are probably to be seen the forerunners of the pagoda as seat of the god of life or ancestors, whose modern modification is the ancestral tablet, and in a certain sense also the hearth-god tsao-chün, which is also called ssu-ming (director of life). This as a brief reference.

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A special work concerning the

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gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated [171] variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan ġadasë). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called [821] xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the [533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[212 cont.]

782 The slaughtered offering, together with the animal-
[778] consecration, forms the group of animal offerings, of which
one is bloody, the other unbloody. The bloody [213] animal-
[574] offering is carried out in three steps which are clearly differen-
tiated by the people: slaughtering, presentation, sacrificial meal.
The classic example is described above as the mountain sheep-
offering. The actual presentation, usually in the form of the
offering-throw, is designated by the term "offering." Often
there is an interval of a whole day between slaughtering and
presentation and the meal.

[787] The slaughtering is preceded by the washing and the
[778] milk-oracle, as well as the releasing and recapturing of the
animal. It almost has the appearance of an abbreviated animal-
consecration, at which the animal is likewise released.

The presentation may be done in two ways. Either the skinned whole animal is set up before the deity, or it is cut up immediately, boiled, and then the pieces of meat with the broth are thrown to the deity. It also happens that the thoroughly cooked pieces are put on plates in front of the altar, like bread
[171] or wine. Putting up the pole-goat is probably a remnant of Central Asiatic form, analogous to the hanging up of the hide of sacrificial animals among the Siberian peoples. Among the Tujen, however, no attention whatever is paid to the skeleton, since, of course, the animal is cut up and boiled with the bones.

782 The sacrificial meal is consumed by all the people, by
574 men, women, and children. I do not know of any sacrificial animals that are reserved for only certain groups. To be sure certain parts are reserved for certain persons as especially tasty, such as the loins, the head, etc. The sacrificial meal is not regarded as a profane act. It is regarded as part of the offering, there is the unequivocal expression for it: "This is a part of our offering."

782 A peculiarity of these offerings is still to be emphasized:
826 the fear of blood. The blood is not spilled but caught during the slaughtering and poured into the intestines. The blood belongs to the animal and is sacrificed and eaten with it. Traces of blood on the ground are immediately covered with earth and wiped away.

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under sdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow [831 302 588] of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[247 cont.]
174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (character-
756 ized by the tree of life, etc.).
779 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bŏ (written in Mong. bŏge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-
791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One
[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely
[787] possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[248 cont.]

it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors. The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzĕn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loud-speaker.

How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words, not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an independent significance in Lamaism even in early times, however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

[249 cont.]

171 778 Nanggardse there is a fearful chapel of the Gur, and in it there is a lance (mdun) which is said by the worshipers to be sacred and is called 'remover of the thirteen enemies of the religion'"; according to W. Unkrig, Ms, p. 14. R. Bleichsteiner writes of a similar banner: "Another narrative reports on the victorious campaign of a barbarian prince across China, Hor and Grug-gug, during which he used a magical flag into which rNam-sras, the world guardian of the north, and eight companions had been conjured" ("Srog-bdag," p. 111).

The spirit-spear can easily be linked with other similar idols, such as Stabongonen, carriage axles, weather clubs, and noodle rollers among the Tujen, all of which are beribboned and hung with little bells and little metal disks. They, too, are used by a soothsayer in exactly the same way as the spirit-spear. This shows that it is merely one among the many shamanistic idols. That such stick-idols are very widespread not only in the Koko Nor region but also in other places in Tibet is shown from a remark by Jäschke: "... the local lha are not always represented by figures resembling human beings, but even by sticks, stones and similar fetishes" [cited in English], p. 599. And on page 7 he speaks of the Pekar idol, also cited by Bleichsteiner, and notes: "... consisting like most of the popular idols in those countries of a wooden stick or log decked with rags ..."; cf. also Bleichsteiner, op. cit., p. 112. Jäschke adds that this idol is certainly pre-Buddhistic. Such idols can be shown for all of northern Asia as far to the east as the Inao of the Ainu; for example, cf. Joseph Haekel, Idolkult und Dualsystem bei den Ugriern. The shamanistic use, however, seems nowhere to be so well attested to as in the case of the spirit-spear of the Tujen.

A second link can be established from the spirit-spear to the standard, flag, or banner. The spear as standard is an anciently known article, as are its sacredness and its veneration in the flag or standard cult. This cult was practiced above all by the Mongols in the form of the sülde veneration. Now it is well possible that this very sülde cult was "co-converted" [174] to Lamaism along with the conversion of the Mongols, especially

[249 cont.]

171 since the Buddhists in their victory banner, the rgyal-mtsan, had
778 similar conceptions. The Mongolic Tujen would naturally also
174 have taken part in this change. Probably the spear-standard was
614 at the same time also regarded as ancestor spear or clan idol; this fact is established beyond doubt for the nine-tipped sülde of Genghis Khan. His spirit and his force have their seat in this sülde; further details and relationships unfortunately cannot be presented here; for that, cf., for example, the descriptions by W. Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 25, 1927, pp. 110-115. In any case,
614 it is striking how [250] each ayil (clan settlement) of the Tujen is intent upon possessing a spirit-spear. Similar ideas can also be shown elsewhere. For example, the Bhil in India are acquainted with the clan spear at religious functions; see W. Koppers, "Die Bhil ...," pp. 182 ff. Even more clearly does the similarity with the spirit-spear and the connection with the clan appear in the case of the clan standard of the Chewsur [Khevsur]. The form of this standard with its bands, the little bells, the ball-knob, etc. can scarcely be distinguished from the spirit-spear of the Tujen. Also, their clan priest is practically a shamanistic soothsayer who works with the spear standard. In view of the great significance that the standards had among the Turks and Mongols (tuq-banner) and in view of the lively history of these peoples, influences and relics in the Caucasus are to be assumed from the first; cf. Radde, The Chewsuren, pp. 100 ff., and Nioradze, Begrābnis, pp. 10 ff. -- Sacral spears are abundantly known in Africa, as are the gods' standards in the ancient Orient. The hitherto not properly explainable Scythian pole appendages with their hooks and prongs, perhaps for little bells and other hangings, may also belong here. It is altogether possible that all these standards are not simply representations and localizations of deities, but were also used shamanistically in the manner of the spirit-spear or the clan standard of the Chewsur.

Further connections also seem to exist between the spirit-spear and the world-tree or the world-axle. One should think for instance, of the cosmic significance of the jewel-spear in the Japanese creation mythology, where it has a

[250 cont.]
171 function similar to the cosmic twirling pole in the milky original
778 ocean of the South Asiatic world myth; see F. Numazawa, Weltanfänge [Original World], p. 345. Mention was made earlier of the world-pole among the Tujen; cf. above, pp. 319 ff. The conceptions connected with it are an ancient Mongolic heritage among them. The "golden nail" representing the world-pole, from which the dome of heaven is suspended, is interpreted among the Olöt Mongols as a banner that stands on the world-mountain Sumeru, and around which all the stars revolve. The same conception is found among the Ordos Mongols, where the golden nail or polar star is called 'the golden banner of the mountain Sumeru.' Among the Chalcha [Khalkha] Mongols this polar-star pole, like the jewel-spear among the Japanese, becomes the twirler with which one beats kumiss; see Lüdtke, op. cit., pp. 115, 118. Lüdtke would like to put the transformation of the world-pole into a banner in a later period, when the Mongols already possessed an extensively developed military organization. The Japanese jewel-spear, however, indicates that the basis of this conception goes back far beyond the Mongolic era (11). Accordingly, Lüdtke's view should perhaps be

> 11. The significance of the lance among the Ngadju Dajak [Dyak] in Borneo should be briefly pointed out here. The connection of lance, flag, tree of life, and "total deity" is still much more apparent and conscious there than in Central Asia and Tibet. Even the shamanistic priests as representatives of the "total deity" are much more strikingly involved in this conception than, for instance, the gurtum as representative of the god of life; cf. H. Schärer, Die Gottesidee, pp. 29 ff., 87, 148 ff.

corrected: "I would not want [251] to derive this whole

[251 cont.]

171 778 conceptual cycle from China either; there, too, to be sure, there is a determining constellation called a 'standard,' not on the pole, however, but rather on the ecliptic" (op. cit., p. 117). At any rate, the astral spear or the standard is not merely the property of the Mongols (12). Here the similarity with the

> 12. The military flag cult of the Chinese in its well-known form is too recent to permit any ancient mythological conclusions; cf., for instance, Doolittle, Social Life, pp. 287 f.

cosmically conceived arrow of good fortune that was dealt with earlier should also be pointed out; see above, p. 321. -- After these references, which refer more or less to the spear alone, its significance in shamanism is easier to understand.

756 778 Spirit-spear and shaman. -- The spirit-spear stands in a two-fold relationship with the shaman, once as world-tree and as weapon, and then as something independent and representative of the shaman.

171 756 778 In the case of Siberian shamanism, for which the symbolism of the journey to heaven is so important, the shaman climbs up on the ladder, the tree, the pole, the bridge, etc. into the world beyond. In the rite, therefore, the most varied representations of this earth-heaven connection appear. What, then, is more obvious than that the spear with its symbolism as world-tree or peak of the world-mountain should be drawn into it? Unfortunately, the evidence for a ritual use of the spear as heaven-ladder (bridge, bow) among the Central Asiatic peoples seems to be difficult to obtain. It must be all the more surprising that among the remote Australians the spear fulfills this function. M. Eliade cites Pettazzoni in this connection and says in his excellent work, Le Chamanisme, pp. 426 f.: "The bow being unknown in Australia, its place in the myth is taken by a lance which bears a long piece of material; the

[251 cont.]
lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lĕmu, sdier sĕmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby, as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sŭlde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

[252 cont.]

still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently,

778 [252 cont.]
791 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
[787] the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
791 (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

791
779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luń is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGon-luń byams-pa gliń,
just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliń. According to B. Laufer, byams pa gliń means "temple of the
Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every
monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always
like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luń contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down
over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in
the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of
the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgẽ,
that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the
Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite
simply shai Fuo-yeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the
people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order
to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
103 nation Rgulõń (Rẽgulõń) is only a corruption of dGon-luń. Even
the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from
the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood
as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery,
which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact,
one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The
designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining,
has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively
in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
[361] ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[346] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[103] ridge, which bears the name Tuguãn-ula, Tuguãn mountain
[175] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither
oral nor written information concerning the founding of the

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 792 [788] 527 [796] [778] These are all facts that must be taken into account in judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cremate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

[574] [752] [778]

771 792 177 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today, however, the young people no longer want to know anything about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

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Sodalities, most of them for women, are organized in every village. The members convene to recite the Om Mani as they circle the Bumkhang [3] of the village all day. Whenever a Monguor is in serious trouble, he prays Om Mani, and when a happy event occurs, he gives thanks by Om Mani. Supposedly, all kinds of evil are dispelled and all blessings obtainable by Om Mani.

Monguor families place in the center of their courtyards a high pole with a small flag flying from atop it. Om Mani and other prayers are printed on the flag as an offering, day and night, by the family to Buddha. Prayer wheels, containing hundreds of repetitions of Om Mani printed on paper, are moved by water power, so that Om Mani will be offered continually, as the wheels revolve.

The Monguors have used their Om Mani to such an extent that its true meaning no longer exists. A farmer becoming angry at the lazy oxen, while plowing his fields, will beat them and swear furiously with a well-articulated Om Mani; gamblers, on losing the game, their patience wearing thin, will say Om Mani in a blasphemous tone. While weeding fields, if a lascivious song is enjoyed, farmers say Om Mani, meaning the song is well sung. When a smutty joke is told, listeners will say Om Mani, laughing, to indicate it is a good joke. It is said that thieves and robbers say Om Mani as an aid to their practice of larceny. Foreign travelers jest that, if robbers kill their victim, he will have the consolation, when dying, of hearing the killer saying Om Mani. Om Mani can be and is offered under all circumstances: riding horseback, working in the fields or at home, while laughing, gambling, singing, conducting business, and even sleeping.

The Monguor's fondness for and promiscuous use of Om Mani has reduced it to a mockery of its original intent. Nevertheless, it is in fact most often used as a real prayer.

The Monguors are not ashamed to pray in public, to

[3] A structure at the entrance to the village to prevent the entrance of evil influences.

[p. 5(8)]

reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion went so far as to make them struggle and compete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang-chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang-chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Uebersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634: the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

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Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard are another three or more rooms for storage of all kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depicting the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but associated with other gods. In the central panel the god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

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hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth 782
are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese 789
table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is at- 796
tached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil 731
spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the 789
youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors 778
to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already 532
been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues 756
decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

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be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits.

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the assumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them.

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

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RITE OF THE SACRED ANIMAL OF THE COMMUNITY

Almost every village has its own sacred animal, which 778 ● is always a male animal. The Monguors say that in the old days they used to consecrate a stallion, but at present they use mostly the bull or the he-goat, and very rarely the ram, stallion, or mule. The villages have only one sacred animal.

The preference of the Monguors for the bull is easy to understand, for their economy is actually agricultural. Their preference for the he-goat is explained by the fact that the animal is a noted symbol of reproduction and fecundity.[1]

Therefore the preference of the Monguors for the he-goat is not a mystery, for the aim of the rite consecrating an animal to the deity protector of the village and giving thanks for blessings received is to secure for the herds the blessings of fecundity.

The sacred animal of the community likes to come back to the temple of the village where a stable is built for it and where it is fed with peas, at the expense of the villagers. All day long it is free to mix with the herds of the village which it likes to follow.

The bull used is the Tibetan yak, for it produces a kind of hybrid cow, stronger than that bred in the country, and peculiarly fitted for farming. So it is easy to understand that the change in economy has been the reason why the bull has been preferred to the stallion, for farming depends on cows and oxen.

The bull is a troublesome animal, often roaming far away into the country. In summer, when the crops are growing in the fields, it does a lot of harm, but nobody dares to beat or to drive it away, for it is the sacred animal. After two or three years its savage instincts reappear and it may even pursue men. The hair of the he-goats and bulls is never clipped, so they are wild in appearance and everybody is afraid of them.

In 1914 the bull of the Naring Valley ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Long ta. The village of Naring Valley presented apologies, indemnifying the [262] family, killing the bull, and offering the meat to them, for villagers are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. The next New Year's another bull was consecrated.

Bulls and he-goats are always consecrated by the 796 chiefs of the communities in the temple yard of the 778 village, on the third day of the New Year, to the guardian deity of the village, never to "Heaven," for no temples are dedicated to heaven. The ceremony is attended by a member from each family. The animal is cleansed, smoked, washed and combed in the courtyard, then led before the open door of the temple in front of

[1] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 1925: 135. He writes: "The known fact that of old, the Mongols attributed a special significance to the he-goat is also related by Plano-Carpini, who notes that the Mongol chiefs always fed he-goats at home: that many people taught that the he-goat was related to fecundity, is a well-known fact."

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the statue or picture of the guardian deity of the village. 796
The chief of the village pours milk mixed with water, 778
while all the participants kneel, holding incense sticks in their hands. The animal shakes its head, and ribbons are attached and red paper is pasted on the horns.

Every year the animal must be presented to the deity in the temple on the third of the New Year. It is a quite dangerous and difficult job, assigned to the youngsters of the village, who wash and comb the savage bull.

The Tibetans in the country perform the Rite of the Sacred Animal in the same way.

The monasteries also feed a sacred animal. They never use a bull or he-goat, but the stallion and sometimes the mule. They never use their sacred animal for riding; it freely roams the country. The ceremonies of consecration are the same: washing, smoking, pouring of milk, prostrations, attachment of ribbons, but in the temple a special prayer is said by the lama community for the reproduction of the animals. Every year, on the third day of the New Year their animal must be presented to the deity in the courtyard of the temple. The stallion must be saddled, for the deity is supposed to take a ride on the animal on that very day. The lamas say that it is difficult to saddle a savage stallion. I could never get any information about the deity to which their animal is consecrated.

SHAMANIST RITES OF SPRING

PREPARATIONS

The reaping of a rich harvest is the dream of the 796
Monguors. After sowing is done, a religious rite is 241
performed by the shamans, not by lamas, in order to gather fine crops in autumn. The rite is performed in every Monguor village, and many Chinese villages follow the same practice. From the second until the fourth month the shamans are very busy going from village to village. In autumn, when there is plenty of grain, preparations for the feast are started. In every family, according to its wealth, spelt is gathered for the distillation of wine; wheat collected for the making of noodles, rolls, and vegetable oil for the baking of bread. It is all put in the temple for safekeeping.

A few days before the feast, the chief of the village 796
with the elders impose corvées on the villagers ordering them to prepare all the required items. Reliable men and women are chosen, because it is important that nobody should eat a roll or drink a cup of wine before all items have been offered to the gods. Consequently, faithful adherents to the traditions are carefully chosen and they take an oath accordingly. Three big loaves, each three feet in diameter, are prepared; thirteen smaller ones, called cartwheels; a large number of steamed rolls, and baskets of smaller ones steamed or boiled in oil; one or two pigs are killed, poor villages kill a sheep; chore-men are sent to the city to buy paper, incense sticks, colors, firecrackers. All the items are locked up in the temple.

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of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their institution constrain them to act cautiously and to restrain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the country between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in

[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

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the same way the territory of the village is supposed to have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and widespread all over China also.[12] From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in rudimentary shrines built in the fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the mountains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning these gods is encountered all over Asia.[13] Buddha once enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.[14]

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot oc-

[12] Maspero, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 204.
[13] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 598.
[14] de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances*, 351 Paris, Beauchesne, 1909.

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said to be caused by the offended god of the spot who must be propitiated by the offering of an urn. 795 782

Consequently, these proprietors and lords of the country and the villages are supposed to extend their protection to their worshippers, blessing their herds and crops and preserving the country against hail, epidemics, and epizootics and providing propitious rain. No wonder that the temples in many villages are dedicated to the god of the mountain, and that one can read on village temples the inscription, "[may] the God of the Five Roads, the gods of the mountain and the village, protect the village."

The cult of the five important mountain gods will be dealt with first, followed by that of the sacred hill of the village.

CULT OF THE OBO

A mountain god is honored by means of an Obo.[17] 795 On the top of the sacred mountain is planted a big pole 778 which secures communication between spirits and man, even as at the time of the shamanist feast of spring, and the planting of the manikan in the courtyards. Stones, mostly white ones, are piled in a big heap around the pole, enclosed with a wooden fence, painted white. Sticks, very often shaped as spears and long arrows, often painted red at the top and black at the bottom, with a tassel of red wool attached to them, are planted in the stone heap, as well as some twigs of cypress. On the top of the pole, and on most of the sticks, are fixed prayer flags, pieces of white cloth on which prayers are written with Tibetan characters, and with the "Wind Horse" printed on them. To white and black ropes (of which one end is bound to the pole and the other to small poles or sticks fixed in the ground), are attached some shoulder bones and various small bones of sheep, small prayer flags, pieces of red dyed wool. Often some small stone heaps are built around the Obo; bigger flat stones form an offering table in front of the heap. No irreverent or immodest acts are permitted in front of the pole. No information was available concerning either the way of building Obos, or the items buried inside under the pole, because I knew nobody who had met the builders of Obos.[18]

THE FIVE GREAT OBOS IN THE COUNTRY

These five chief spirits, owners of the country, are 778 not only honored on the tops of their respective moun- 782 tains. Because it is impossible to climb the mountain 795 every day, there is built for each of them, inside the monasteries of the Yellow Sect nearest the mountain, a small temple, in which lamas daily honor them. So, the temple of the spirit Amni Chokker of the Obo near the lamasery of Ch'u erh is built in that monastery. There is one exception: the small temple of the spirit

[17] Stress should be put on the correct meaning of the cult of the Obo so as not to identify it with the cult of Heaven, as so often happens in studies concerning the religion of the nomads.

[18] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 68-69.

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Amni Chialip of the Obo in Waza is built inside the courtyard of a rich Tibetan, Manguru. I was told by him that every day he lit a taper and burned incense. Women, and girls, even his wife or daughter-in-law, were never allowed to enter the small temple. The same prohibition existed for the women against visiting this kind of temple in the monasteries. 778 782 795 [562]

When and how are the five owners of the country honored? On an auspicious day fixed by a lama, usually of the Red Sect, at the end of the fifth moon, and usually during the sixth moon, five delegates from every village assumed to be situated in the circumscription of the territory of the spirit, are sent to the mountain. They carry a tent and drive some sheep which have been washed and combed, with red paper pasted on their horns and ribbons attached to their fleece, and a piece of red cloth eight feet long on each of their backs. The men also bring some spears and arrows painted red and black, miniature bows, firecrackers and the famous "precious bottle" (the urn). 795 796

The first day, at evening, all the representatives of the villages pitch their tents at the foot of the celebrated mountain and pass the night in merrymaking. The next day, being the auspicious day, in the early morning the chief and the elders of the village, with a large crowd of villagers, arrive to attend the rites to be celebrated on top of the mountain. Chinese merchants pitch tents and do business at the foot of the mountain.

After breakfast all the chiefs of the villages with the villagers go to the Obo. One group after another sets off firecrackers before the Obo, plants in the stone heap spears and arrows, and attaches new flags and pieces of wool and bones, and reverently bury their precious bottle in a deep hole. On the crude offering table, the killed sheep is offered, broth is thrown first toward "Heaven" and then to the four points of the compass for "all the spirits," the famous Wei-sang rite is performed and libation made, while the groups kneel and prostrate themselves. After the rites of each village are performed by the chiefs, a group of lamas, mostly of the Red Church, perform on behalf of the entire community a big Wei-sang rite, beating drums, blowing horns, and chanting some prayers; they all turn three times around the obo. [389]

In the afternoon at the foot of the mountain an immense crowd of men and women enjoy the horseraces and the wrestling,[19] singing and drinking. At sunset most of the people leave, but groups of young folk pass the night around the tents, merrymaking. On the morning of the third day, the tents are rolled up, all the

[19] L. M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes mongoles*, 76, Gembloux, Duculot, 1947. Description of the horse races in the sixth moon at the Obo by the Mongols of Outchimts'in and wrestling (on p. 109), attended by the author; also Owen Lattimore, *Mongol journeys*, 274, New York, Doubleday, 1941, with interesting description of the festivities attended by the chiefs of the Banners, etc.

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to the ears of the sheep and all over its fleece. Everybody endeavors to attach a couple of ribbons.

The sheep will join the herd as before; its wool will be sheared twice a year, as is done for the other sheep, but it will never be killed and will be allowed to die naturally. If it dies during the year, next New Year's another one will be consecrated and will take its place, for every family has to have its sacred animal.

But what if the sheep does not shake its head? This is conclusive proof that the deity is angry and ill disposed toward the family. Dread and terror instantly show upon their faces. All the members of the family, startled and panic stricken, look at one another distressed, dejected, and in deep gloom, for everybody feels that this fact bodes ill for the future. Bowing their heads to the ground and lifting their hearts in humble entreaty, they beg pardon and ask the deity to overlook their offences, to accept the offer. Then milk is poured again, and if the sheep still obstinately refuses to shake its head, it is finally removed.

Then, in the living room, the situation is examined to be sure the predicament is of their own making. Maybe they had been too remiss in honoring the deity; maybe the spirit does not like the discord and resentment reigning in the family; maybe the deity wants a more valuable sacrifice? After renewed prostrations and promises for the future, the conclusion is always that the only hope remaining is to consecrate a more valuable animal, a young female mule, for they know that it is impossible to get around the spirit and defy it with impunity, and that anybody who tampers with its plans is riding for a fall.

The female mule is led into the courtyard and washed; tail and mane are combed. Two red hot stones are dropped in a utensil containing boiling water, which is adjusted under the nose of the animal so that the vapors may enter the nostrils, purifying the animal interiorly, as it has been cleansed exteriorly. The animal is led through the door of the living room, and in front of the picture of the deity. Milk, mixed with water, is poured on its head and in its ears—the head shakes. Ribbons are attached on mane and tail. The animal will be used in the same way as other animals, but never will it be sold. It is allowed to die a natural death.

The Monguors whom I asked for explanations always replied in the same way, that the rite is always performed only on the third of the New Year, by the head of the family, without Red or Yellow lamas or shamans; that the animal is always consecrated to the guardian deity of the family, inside the living room, in front of the picture of the guardian deity. Because the "spirit of Heaven" or "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored as family protectors, the animal is never consecrated to the "spirit of Heaven" or to "Heaven and all the spirits."

If it happens that the family spirits are the spirits of the mountains, the rite is always performed in the